SPIRIT OF THE PRESS.

EDITORIAL OPINIONS OF THE LEADING JOURNALS UPON CURRENT TOPICS -COMPILED EVERY DAY FOR THE EVENING TELEGRAPH.

CÆSARISM.

From the N. Y. World. Morton, Butler, Chandler, Conkling, and Cameron are new illustrations of the old truth about the madness of the foredoomed. The Republican party, falling into the hands of such men, has suffered injuries from which nothing can now redeem it. Recently so powerful, enjoying peculiar advantages, boasting a splendid organization, it goes to pieces as swiftly and surely as a wooden ship dashed against storm-beaten rocks. And yet the crazy men who hold command insist upon driving it again and again against the same fatal barrier. Wielding with merciless severity the lash of party discipline, crushing down with seorn and insult every Sumner, Schurz, or Farnsworth who dares to stand up for justice and constitutional obligations, and relying solely upon blind partisanship to secure immunity for offenses such as no free people has ever yet forgiven, these desperate leaders seem resolved to force every man who respects the Constitution, every man who desires true reform of any kind, to ally himself with the Democratic party. Partisanship is still powerful. But there are abundant proofs that patriotism has yet more power.

Let Republicans say what they will of the Democratic party, the great truth still remains, and forces itself every day upon the convictions of reasonable men, that the mad career upon which extreme radicals have entered can be arrested only by the power of the Democrats. Thoughtful men see with undisguised alarm that the Constitution, strained to the utmost during the war, is now in immediate danger of such an overthrow that the will of one man, or of a party caucus, shall be our only supreme law. As a Republican Senator recently admitted, the Constitution has already been so shingled over with amendments and precedents that its original form can scarcely be discovered. Each new precedent acquires, under radical hands, all the power of an amendment; each amendment is strained and magnified into a revolution in our form of government. Today, with the assent of a majority of the Senate, the President grasps and uses at his pleasure the war-making power. Without even the poor pretext that a treaty is still pending involving inchoate rights he dicwith his guns to one foreign power, interferes actively in the internal affairs of another, and, at the risk of war with any civilized nation, pushes a corrupt scheme in defiance of public censure. Even while the Executive thus usurps power in dealing with foreign nations, and grossly abuses the power thus usurped, his party adherents are demanding for him a new and almost unlimited extension of power in domestic affairs. Give to him the right to send troops into any State without application from any local authority, with none of those restraints which the Constitution wisely interposes between despotic centralization and local self-government, and of his own mere motion, upon information known only to himself, and of which he is the sole judge, to proclaim martial law wherever he likes, and what farther step toward the subversion of our liberties will remain? Only one -if indeed that is a farther step. It will remain only for American freemen to copy the example of Rome and decree that one man shall "take care of the republic."

It is not strange that Republicans by the ten thousands begin to feel that they cannot honestly sustain any party by which the liberty of the people is thus assailed. However strong their attachment to their party may be, they realize that duty to the country may require its defeat. Intense hostility to Democracy does not blind everybody to the fact that the Democrats have both predicted and consistently resisted this progressive encroachment upon the Constitution, and they alone have the power to make effective resistance in time to save free government from the impending overthrow. Hence it is that a few Republicans in Congress begin to assert more boldly their independence of caucus or Executive dictation. They are forced to speak out by an overwhelming public senti-

The Democratic party owes it to the country and to the cause of self-government not to repress this rising independence of partisanship and returning attachment to the Constitution by any revival of questions which have passed from the arena of practical work. It is the duty of every sincere patriot to save the country from Casarism. To that end it is a duty to meet with hearty welcome all men, of whatever faith or association in the past, who are ready to work for the overthrow of the corrupt combination by which we are now ruled and cursed, for the success of genuine reforms affecting practical questions of the present and future, and for the restoration of the Constitution to its rightful supremacy. Let men like Morton and Butler, Cameron and Chandler, go on laboring to revive old issues, and to force upon the Democrats the same controversies wherein the Republicans have hitherto prevailed. This is manifestly the only policy which gives them a chance to retain their grasp upon the Government and to filch the liberties and the earnings of the people. But no true Democrat should help them in their scheme. The conspirators cannot ask more effective allies than those who persist in forcing obsolete or irrelevant questions upon public attention, or by acts or deeds of violence help to fan once more into flame the dying embers of civil strife. With Grant and his coadjutors war is a necessity. Every Democrat, on the contrary, may ardently pray, "Let us have

TAX REFORM BY ABSTRACT PRINCIPLE.

From the N. Y. Times.

Our entire system of raising the national revenues has been the growth of special emergencies, and the result of a varying contest between interests of diverse strength and importance. It would be impossible to construct any general principle capable of covering all its multiplied anomalies, just as it is impossible to trace any single financial or economical law which was consistently kept in view during its formation. Curtailed as it he been of many useless and unproductive taxes, the system remains, by the confession of all parties, full of crudities and irregularities. This being the case, it would appear at first sight eminently desirable that some comprehensive principle should be devised to guide the work of reform. What has grown without method would thus, in the estimation of various theorists, assume harmonious proportions by the operation of scientific rule, and if once we get hold of the guiding string at the proper end, we should certainly, by carefully following it, get ent of our labyrinth of revenue problems

applying general principles as in getting them

nominally accepted. For example, Mr. Kelley has obtained what looks on the outside like a very solid victory for protection. The Forty-first Congress was induced by the same author to accept, on "the true principle of revenue reform," proximate abolition of the internal revenue system. The Forty-second Congress, albeit still more pronounced in its opposition to monopolies, has accepted the same declaratory resolution that was previously affirmed in December last. The passage of such a resolution may help to furnish a fresh point Mr. Kelley and his fellow-defenders the coal, salt, and pig-iron duties. when these come up again for dis-cussion, but we hardly imagine that even they expect it to affect a single vote on any of these issues. It did not prevent the last House Representatives from giving us free coal, and it will not prevent the present one from repeating their lest decisive vote on the coal and salt monopolies, as well as probably touching the cogna.e excess of the pig-iron and wool duties. The people would doubtless be very glad to see the rates on distilled spirits, tobacco, and malt liquors prove sufficient for all the legitimate expenses of the Government, and thus do away with the great army of national tax-gatherers referred to by Mr. Kelley. But that the enormities of some of the existing customs duties should be entirely neglected, as Mr. Kelley's resolution obscurely implies, while all the efforts of revenue reformers should be directed towards relieving the nation of internal taxation, is a proposition which can never be reduced to practice. Mr. Kelley may probably find future occasion to remind some of those who voted with him on Monday that he designed his resolution to stop the way to all reduction of customs duties till the taxes on stamps, incomes, etc., have been abolished. In such case he will find himself open to the retort that his resolution contained no positive expression on any such topic, and that though Republican revenue reformers believed in Mr. Kelley's "true principle," they were not prepared to regard

it as the only one bearing upon the question.

The defeat of Mr. Parker's resolution, declaring that the tariff should be so reformed as to become a tax for revenue only, presents a lesson of a somewhat similar character. Mr. Kelley's resolution is of a kind too general to be of any practical importance to anybody. Mr. Parker's, in its reference to "vast special interests," and in its very distinct purpose to revolutionize our customs duties without further delay, was calculated to hamper the free action of the House upon single questions of tax reform that call for separate treatment, as well as to commit it to a much more sweeping policy on this question than the country is yet prepared to indorse. As our revenue system stands at present, there are three parties vitally interested in it-the Government, the manufacturers, and the people. All three demand, then, equal consideration in all measures of tax reduction. Antagonistic as in some respects these separate interests may appear, they cannot be considered apart from each other without mutual detriment. Mr. Kelley and his friends wish us to sacrifice too much to the manufacturers, the adherents of Mr. Boutwell's financial policy have a too exclusive regard to the necessities of the Government: while the free traders want us to consider the interests of the people divorced from both of the preceding. It is possible to give the latter element more attention than it received in the construction of our revenue system, but it is neither just nor profitable to disregard the claims of the other two. Tax reform will not proceed, any more than tax creation did, by abstract rules, but will evolve itself from the play of varied interests in the gradual fashion that will alone render it universally beneficial.

A RULE OF RUIN.

From the N. Y. Tribune, Moved by anxiety to secure their indemnity the Germans have insisted that the French Government shall make short work of the Paris rebels. Possibly but for the complications arising from the presence of this third party whose interests demand prompt action, the civil conflict in France might be brought to an end, by the temporizing policy advocated by M. Thiers, without further serious bloodshed. The assault which has been resolved upon in consequence of the German attitude will doubtless be bloody; but it is not by any means certain that the long investment, which M. Thiers contemplated in his desire to avoid bloodshed, would not have resulted in excesses in Paris by which the innocent-men, women, and children, alike-would have suffered torture and death. The temper of the Communists has already brought pillage, imprisonment, and massacre; now it threatens wholesale slaughter. These fellows are not, as they believe themselves, of that "inspired rabble" with which Dumouriez turned back the German invasion during the revolution; but rather the anarchists, whose excesses in the capital drove the old Jacobin warrior to declare a constitutional monarchy the only salvation of Paris from misrule. The Paris mob is now, as then, the worst enemy of the republic; and again drives France to accept the demoralization of personal government as a refuge from the horrors of no government, Paris is in less danger from Government shells than from Communist decrees; bombardment can destroy no more churches than the mob has already pillaged; and an hour of unbridled license within the city may cost more lives than a day's struggle on its ramparts. The assault which prevents these threatened horrors and ends this anarchy will not, therefore, be wholly an unmixed evil

And what a terrible misrule of a month it has been! Established only through the treason of the most trusted Guards of the city and the republic, the Commune has thriven only by proscription and murder. Civil authority has been exercised by a committee, one-half of which early denounced and imprisoned the other half; and this faction has since been superseded in power by a secret tribunal, which denounces on mere suspicion and condemns without trial. The right of national property has been abrogated; debt has been abolished; landlords have been proscribed as enemies of the State, and 200,000 citizens have been compelled to flee for no other offense than being richer than their neighbors. How many others have been secretly denounced and imprisoned, or have fallen victims to private vengeance, which goes authorized as a public executioner, Heaven only knows. Prisons have been filled with priests and nuns guilty of declaring themselves "servants of a person called God." Old soldiers of the republic have been shot as spies, and loyal citizens have been massacred for public demonstrations in favor of

order and the republic. It was not reasonable to expect that a Government which had adopted such a civil policy as this could long sustain itself by arms. The conduct of the defense of Paris by the Comwith both profit and satisfaction to the nation | munists has been simply ridiculous, judged | system is sometimes imperative as a choice of

at large. Unfortunately for this promising from any military point of view. They had theory, there is as much difficulty found in a large proportion of the 40,000 National Guards intrusted with arms by the Germans to maintain order as a basis for an army. These have been increased to 100,000 in numbers, but weakened by accessions only of undisciplined rabble and by the appointment to command of unskilled soldiers. This hastily collected mob was marched against Versailles on April 2 (Sunday having been chosen as the occasion possibly through contempt of religion), and its right wing encamped west of Fort Mont du Valerien, though it was held by a garrison of Govern-ment troops. No previous effors to reduce this work or to seduce the garrison from its duty were undertaken; the insurgent commander appears to have thought that the Government troops would refuse to fire upon their brethren. Their error was disclosed early the next morning when the fort opened fire upon the insurgent camps and dispersed the right wing in a short time and with little less. Finding themselves between two fires, they made their way, as best they could, behind the fort again, and nearer Paris. Their left column had meantime encountered opposition south of the city, and they soon found themselves restricted to the forts which they had previously occupied. The Government right wing occupied the positions held by the Germans on the Heights of Sceaux, and from there they have neither advanced nor been The left wing of the Government army

followed up the success of April 3, and advanced from Fort Mont du Valerien towards the Seine, near the bridge of Neuilly. The advance of this part of the line was accompanied by several affairs of no moment, and by vigorous bombardment of the southern forts by the right wing as a feint. But on April 7 (Thursday last) the left wing, having got into position, carried the Neuilly bridge and passed the Seine. The insurgents' left fled to the walls and erected barricades at the Porte Maillot, the entrance by the Neuilly road to the city. The right wing of the Government troops advanced into the Bois de Boulogne, its advance occupying Sablonville, a suburb adjacent to the walls and near the Maillot gate. The barricades of the latter have been demolished, and a breach in the adjacent walls has been effected by the fire of Mont du Valerien; and it is here doubtless that the assault is to be made. The fleet has reached Paris, and is anchored just below the Neuilly Bridge, to take part in the bombardment of the Porte Maillot barricades. No operations on the south, other than severe cannonading, have taken place, the forts there proving a barrier to any advance of the Government troops, and the insurgents foolishly keeping

on the defensive there as on their right. The passage of the walls effected at this point-and the assault under the protecting fire of the fort and the batteries will doubtless prove successful—the issue is not doubtful, but at the same time it is not reached. That the insurgents will fight in their barricades is far more probable than that they will fight in the open field; and from the first barricade at the Arc de Triomphe, which the rebels hold, to the Tuileries and the Hotel de Ville itself, they will resist-feebly and with spasmodic energy, it is true, but with bloody and deplorable result. If not despair, pride itself will nerve them to resistance, and the vain, stupid fellows will go down to ruin inspired by the belief that the world looks admiringly on at heroes, when it really sneerinely contemplates only madmen

AMNESTY THE REPUBLICAN POLICY. From Harper's Weekly.

The Republican party, upon coming to power in 1861, was forced to deal with the Rebellion. How formidable the emergency was will never be forgotten by this generation, nor with what patience, valor, unbending resolution, and complete triumph the danger was confronted and overcome. The party maintained the Government, emancipated the slaves, amended the Constitution in the interest of equal liberty, and restored the rebellious States to their relations within the Union. We say the Republican party did this; because, if the Democratic party had controlled the Government, the power of the slaveholding aristocracy would have been so confirmed as to make national regeneration almost hopeless. Had the Democratic party been in power during the last ten years, slavery would still have existed in half the country; the national flag would have protected it in the Territories; free speech would have been annihilated; all the great guarantees of progressive liberty and civilization would necessarily, under the dominance of slavery, have been destroyed, and the spirit and purpose of the Union would have been utterly defeated.

This appalling catastrophe, not only to this country, but to constitutional liberty everywhere in the world, was avoided by the na-tional success of the Republican pay in the election of 1860, and by its continued success to the present time. Meanwhile, every measure for securing the logical results of the war, and for confirming the equal rights which it had established, has been obstinately resisted by the Democratic party. As its theory of State rights—vaguely and loosely expounded and asserted in the Virginia and Kentucky resolutions—supplied the pretense of the Rebellion, and its protection of the oppression of slavery fostered the inspiring cause, so it has strenuously opposed all legislation that tended to remove the roots of the difficulty from our politics, and has sedulously encouraged hatred and contempt of the race which we have so cruelly wronged, but whose equal rights have been legally and formally acknowledged.

Despite this malignant hostility, atrengthened, as the movements of incipient rebellion were, by want of reflection upon the exact nature of the Government, the Republican party has carried all its great measures of reconstruction. But the whole policy known by that name was necessarily experimental, and certain of its measures were, in their nature, temporary. Disfranchisement was especially one of these. It was thought necessary, in the actual situation, to except very considerable numbers of persons from any active part in politics. Of course those persons were among the most intelligent of the citizens of certain States, whose ability had secured them the confidence and given them the leadership of their fellow-citizens. What the result might have been had the policy been different it is not necessary to inquire. The most conspicuous Republican who had friendly doubts was Governor Andrew, of Massachusetts. But the loyal country which had maintained the Union unquestionably

demanded that policy, and it was adopted. The time has now come for a change. It is evidently more desirable that the control of the States which have been fully restored to their relations in the Union should be intrusted to all their citizens, and that the most intelligent class should not be excluded. It is also desirable that no system which, by disfranchisement, encourages hostility of classes or races, should even seem to be favored by the National Government. Such a

evils. But in a free State a disfranchised lass, especially when it is that of the most nlightenment, is a perpetual menace. There on be no proper peace while it exists. As it used to be said, and to be truly said, of slavery, that it was suppressed civil war, so it may be as truly said of a political community, in which a leading part is arbitrarily disfranchised, that it is smouldering strife; from time to time the fire will leap out in angry flame.

A general amnesty, the removal of all disqualifications resulting from the Rebellion. should be heartily declared as the policy of the Republican party. It was long since demanded by some of its most eminent leaders. The New York Tribune, for instance, has steadily insisted upon its wisdom; and there are many who thought its demand to be premature when it was made who are fully persuaded that the time is now ripe. The emphatic declaration of the Republicans of Ohio shows how profound and how general the conviction of the wisdom of this measure has become in the party. And it is of great importance that it should be the work of the Republicans, that it may be seen not to be a concession to the spirit of the Ku-klax by the party which the Ku-klux supports, and of which it is an agency. As the disabilities were imposed because it was thought that the public welware required them, so they may now be removed for the same reason. For the public welfare imperatively demands Republican ascendancy, and that is in some degree imperilled by a policy of continued disfranchisement. The conditions of national pacification cannot be complete until amnesty is universal, and for every reason that final measure should be the work of the party of

THE BLACK SEA QUESTION.

From the Government Messenger, St. Peteraburg, For fifteen years Russia has strictly fulfilled the obligations of the treaty of Paris, onerous as some of them were for her dignity. Meanwhile political events had made considerable changes in the provisions of this treaty, and in course of time the position of European powers in their relations towards each other had become essentially modified. It was impossible for Russia to submit any longer to the restrictions which had been imposed upon her on the Black Sea, which bathes the Russian coasts, after the international relations of the other States had become so remarkably altered. The Imperial Cabinet notified to Europe by the Imperial Chancellor's circular of the 19th of October that it no longer considered itself bound by the restrictions relating to the Black Sen, and that his Majesty the Emperor had resumed his full sovereign rights upon that sea, leaving at the same time the other sovereigns free to resume their rights in their entire extent. Notwithstanding the violent and biassed declarations of many organs of the European press, the great powers which had signed the treaty of Paris did not look upon our circular as a provocation addressed to Europe, nor as an indication of secret plans against her peace, but as a frank and moderate notification; and they resolved, at the suggestion of the Government of the North German Confederation, to assemble in a conference for the purpose of bringing this notification of Russia into barmony with the Treaty of 1856. Our Cabinet gladly accepted the invitation to take part in this conference, more especially as in the circular of the 19th of October it had already been stated that his Majesty was disposed to conclude any new international agreement whose object it should be to strengthen the prospects of universal peace. While securing the dignity of Russia the labors of the conference were greatly impeded and delayed by the contemporary political events; but from the very beginning all the powers expressed a readiness to solve the questions in a spirit of peace and justice. In yesterday's number of the Government Messenger a telegram was printed announcing that a new treaty had been signed at the London Conference which abolishes those articles of the Treaty of Paris that limited the sovereign rights of Russia and Turkey on the Black Sea. There can be no doubt that not only all Russians, but all friends of peace and justice, will heartily rejoice at this work of European diplomacy. It limits no one's rights, it does not demand any sacrifices, while it has restored rights which had been violated, removed a symbol of international distrust, and strengthened the intimate relations of the European States. It is pre-eminently a work of peace and

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OITY ORDINANCES. COMMON COUNCIL OF PHILADELPHIA.

CLERK'S OFFICE,
PHILADELPHIA, March 17, 1871.
In accordance with a Resolution adopted by
the Common Council of the city of Philadelphia on Thursday, the sixteenth day of March, 1871, the annexed bill, entitled, "An ordinance creating a loan for the extension of the Water Works," is hereby published for public information.

JOHN ECKSTEIN, Clerk of Common Council.

AN ORDINANCE CREATING A LOAN FOR THE EXTENSION OF THE WATER WORKS. Section 1. The Select and Common Councils of the city of Philadelphia do ordain, That the Mayor of Philadelphia be and he is hereby

authorized to borrow at not less than par, on the credit of the city, two million one hundred and twenty-two thousand dollars for the further extension of the Water Works. For which interest not to exceed the rate of six per cent. per annum, shall be paid half-yearly, on the first days of January and July, at the office of the City Treasurer. The principal of said loan shall be payable

and paid at the expiration of thirty years from the date of the same, and not before without the consent of the holders thereof; and the certificates therefor, in the usual form of the certificates of city loan, shall be issued in such amounts as the lenders may require, but not for any fractional part of one hundred dollars, or, if required, in amounts of five hundred or one thousand dollars; and it shall be expressed in said certificates that the loan therein mentioned and the interest thereof are payable free from all taxes.

Section 2. Whenever any loan shall be made by virtue thereof, there shall be by force of this ordinance annually appropriated out of the income of the rate estates, and from the sum raised by taxation, a sum sufficient to pay the interest on said certificates; and the further sum of threetenths of one per centum on the par value of such certificates so issued shall be appropriated quarterly out of said income and taxes to a sinking fund, which fund and its accumulations are hereby especially pledged for the redemp-tion and payment of said certificates.

RESOLUTION TO PUBLISH A LOAN BILL. Resolved, That the Clerk of Common Council be authorized to publish in two daily news-papers of this city daily for four weeks the ordinance presented to Common Council on Thursday, March 16, 1871, entitled "An ordinance creating a 'oan for the extension of the Water Works.' And the said Clerk, at the stated meeting of Councils after said publication, shall present to this Council one of each of said newspapers for every day in which the same shall have been made. 3 17 244

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